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The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1917

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Congressional Chivalry—"Put Away That Banner and Help Carry Up the Luggage!"

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Notes of the Week

War Congress Passes Constitutional Amendment

ON December 17 the House passed an amendment to the United States Constitution for national prohibition. The vote was 282 to 128. The amendment was passed by the Senate last August, but had to be again referred to the Senate because of changes made in the bill by the House—notably the clause requiring the amendment to be ratified within seven years. The Senate completed action by a vote of 47 to 8, without ratification. This is the first constitutional amendment passed since that providing for the direct election of senators, ratified in 1913.

When the Administration chooses, an amendment to the United States Constitution demanded by public opinion is easily put through Congress, even in war-time. The suffrage amendment is less controversial than prohibition and has stronger public sentiment behind it. It will go through more easily than prohibition—the Administration must give the word for it.

Representation Too Much for Tax King

CONGRESSMAN John F. Fitzgerald, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, urges strongly the creation of a government board to guide Congress toward "a more equal distribution of war taxes."

This is the Representative Fitzgerald of New York, who does not approve of the federal amendment. "You do not understand, and I am not going to start a kindergarten about our theory of government," he replied recently to a delegation of New York members of the National Woman's Party, who pointed out to him the necessity of national suffrage as a war measure.

The "tax king" does not acknowledge that women would enjoy "a more equal distribution of war taxes," and would enjoy all taxes better if Congress passed the amendment. He does not hold with "No taxation without representation." Mr. Fitzgerald, in fact, is resigning from Congress shortly, and rumor makes his fixed aversion to representing women constituents the reason for his retreating.

Woman's Sphere

IN the annual report of Julia C. Lathrop, Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, protective measures for child life are urged on the government, and "patriotic effort and sacrifice on the part of our civilian population" in carrying out a reasonable child welfare program. The program suggested by the bureau recommends for public protection of maternity and infancy, mothers' care for older children, enforcement of child labor laws, full schooling for all children, and recreation for children and youth protected from any form of exploitation. During the coming year country-wide investigations will be made of state provisions for the care and protection of dependent children and a study of juvenile courts with respect to the increase of youthful crime.

At the same time comes the report that the enfranchised women of Kansas are at work on new bills to be presented at the next session of the legislature to enable them to make a straightforward campaign for child protection. An adequate child welfare bill will be drafted at once; a home-finding bill for little children is planned; and strong support will be given by women to the childrens' bill advocated by the child hygiene department of the state board of health.

The women of Kansas are using the power of their ballot to conserve the human resources of their state. The women of the nation are demanding the federal amendment so that they, too, can not only construct programs for the conservation of the human resources of the nation, but actually carry them out by direct political action.

Grange Urges Suffrage as a War Measure

THE Pennsylvania State Grange at a recent meeting proved, as the Grange organization has often proved, that it believes in democracy, by indorsing the Susan B. Anthony amendment. Grangers, who recognize the equality of men and women in their own organization, hold that the women of the United States are doubly entitled to suffrage, as a measure of justice and as a recognition of the responsibilities placed on them by the government in wartimes. A resolution urging adoption of the Susan B. Anthony amendment by Congress was passed by unanimous vote.

National Suffrage Association Elects Federal Method

IN concluding its 49th annual convention in Washington last week, the National American Woman Suffrage Association adopted the following resolution concerning the course of action it will pursue should the federal amendment be defeated at this session:

"That if the Sixty-Fifth Congress fails to submit the amendment before the next Congressional election, this association shall select and enter into such a number of Senatorial and Congressional campaigns as will effect a change in both houses of Congress sufficient to insure the passage of the federal amendment. The selection of the candidates to be opposed is to be left to the executive board and to the board of the state in question. Our opposition to individual candidates shall not be based upon party considerations, and loyalty to the federal amendment shall not take precedence over loyalty to the country."

The dominant note of the convention was the emphasis laid on the importance of gaining suffrage through federal amendment rather than the state-by-state process. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the association, in advocating the federal method in her address to Congress, gave as the reasons: (1) because it is the quickest process, and justice demands immediate action; (2) Every other country dignifies suffrage as a national question; (3) If the entire forty-eight states should severally enfranchise women, women's political status would still be inferior to that of men, since no provision for national protection of their right to vote would exist and this protection can only come through federal action.

Meeting of Women's Industrial Council

THE English Women's Industrial Council recently met in London to discuss the position of women clerks after the war.

After the war, said Lord Henry Bentrick, president of the Council, women must not be in a position to compete unfairly with the larger number of men who will return to civil employment when peace is declared. His opinion was that the state should not only guarantee equal pay for equal work for women, but should insist on a minimum wage for men and women. He further declared that the state should protect men and women dependent on their own earnings against women who for various reasons were willing to work for wages or salary that would provide them with pocket money. This motion was passed at the close of the meeting:

"That this conference feels it is highly important that those women who follow clerical employment after the war should insist upon adequate salaries and reasonable conditions of service, and to this end decides to nominate a committee to influence public opinion in this direction."

The industrial problems growing out of hundreds of thousands of women flung into the labor market under the best conditions for exploitation were largely the cause of the English government's promising women the franchise. The United States government, unwilling to learn by observation, seems bent on going through the same difficulties before it acts to profit women, and itself through them.

Women Vote in Mexico

THE State of Guanajuato, Mexico, has given women the municipal vote by a newly adopted constitution. Municipal elections are to be held shortly. This will be the first time women vote in the history of that country.

The new national Mexican constitution, according to the *Mexican Review*, permits woman suffrage by implication. No test of the right has yet been made.

Amendment Moves Toward the Vote

AFTER seventy years of agitation, and five years of intensive campaigning, the national suffrage amendment seems about to pass both Houses of Congress, and go to the state legislatures for ratification.

The situation of the last five years is in one respect unchanged: if President Wilson, who has so often expressed a belief in "the principle of woman suffrage," should urge the passage of the suffrage amendment, making it an Administration measure, it would pass Congress in the time it takes for a roll call. In another respect the situation is entirely new: after the activity of the past months, the suffrage victory in New York, and the world-wide interest in democracy there is enough suffrage sentiment in Congress to make suffragists hope that their measure may pass, without the President's active support.

Suffrage is now on the calendars of both the House and the Senate. It was reported favorably by the Senate Suffrage Committee in the closing days of the special session.

On December 15 the House Judiciary Committee, the "morgue" in which the measure has been successfully buried for so long, reported the measure without recommendation by a vote of 18 to 2. Mr. Dyer, of Missouri, was given three days in which to file a minority favorable report. The action of the committee was taken suspiciously soon after the appointment of the new House Committee on Woman Suffrage, of which Mr. Raker, of California, is chairman. The report of the Judiciary Committee, which was without recommendation, was thrown in the basket in the course of a debate on the floor as to whether the suffrage amendment should be left with the Judiciary Committee or referred to the new committee. By filing the report, the Judiciary Committee secured the credit for reporting the suffrage measure.

IT is indicative of the new political feeling toward suffrage to have Congressmen engage in a debate occupying five pages of the Congressional Record, as to which committee should have the honor of handling the question. After a long and technical argument, in which Representative Raker, of California, insisted that the new committee had jurisdiction, and Mr. Webb, of North Carolina, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and admitted foe of woman suffrage, contended just as firmly that his committee and none other should "take care of the ladies," Mr. Garrett, of Tennessee, offered to settle the whole problem "very easily."

"It is perfectly evident," he said, "that the gentleman from California is now opposed to the amendment (laughter) because it has been reported to the House and is now ready for action, and I think we can settle this matter good-humoredly and pleasantly by entering into a unanimous-consent agreement; I therefore, pending the decision on the point of order, ask unanimous consent that the resolution providing for the submission of the question of the constitutional amendment, and all resolutions related thereto, shall lie upon the table until the end of this session." The clerk records more "laughter," but Mr. Raker interposed a solemn and resounding "I object," which Mr. Caldwell, of New York, echoed.

As the debate on jurisdiction grew more and more involved, complicated by points of order, parliamentary questions, quotations from the manual, and rulings by the Speaker, Mr. Connally of Texas suggested as a remedy, "Would it not be satisfactory to your committee (Suffrage Committee) to let the matter stand as it is by passing a little resolution giving the Suffrage Committee credit for killing bear?"

THOUGH the Judiciary Committee has reported H. R. 1, "Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women," the new Committee on Woman Suffrage is also to have the honor of passing upon a suffrage resolution. On Saturday, after the filing of the Judiciary Committee report, Mr. Campbell of Kansas introduced H. J. R. 192, also "proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women." Under the rule creating the new committee, adopted in the last session, this resolution was referred to Mr. Raker's committee. This rule provides for referring "all proposed action touching on the subject of woman suffrage to the Committee on Woman's Suffrage," and, of course, affects without question all suffrage legislation after the adoption of the rule.

WOMAN'S Party lobbyists return from the Capitol each day with new enthusiasm and new hope. Until after the holidays it will be impossible to make an accurate poll, because so many members of both Houses are absent. The very incomplete and conservative poll so far made, seems, as one lobbyist remarked, "too good to be true."

Actual facts are probably far better than this poll would indicate. For instance, the Woman's Party poll gives suffrage only twenty-nine votes from New York, because only twenty-nine men have so far been interviewed on the question this session, though two members of the New York delegation have publicly announced that all forty-three New Yorkers in the House will answer "yes" when the suffrage vote is taken.

Since the close of the special session, more than forty men have changed their position from "unalterably opposed" to "I shall vote for the amendment."

Letters, telegrams, petitions and resolutions "urging the immediate passage of the federal suffrage amendment" are pouring in to Congress and the White House from all parts of the country. Congressmen reported as "non-committal" or "hopeful" are receiving particular attention. Many Congressmen, who have hitherto said "There is no interest in the federal amendment in my district" now point with despair to the mail that proves how deeply their constituents are interested in the question of democracy at home.

The "solid South" is traditionally supposed to be against suffrage, yet over fifty Southern Congressmen state that they are ready to vote in favor of suffrage, and many of them are working for it actively in their delegations and with other members of their party.

AMONG the new friends suffrage has gained are Representatives Reed and Woodyard, of Indiana; and Walton, of New Mexico.

Mr. Walton said, "I realize that you women must get it by federal amendment or it will mean nothing to you."

Mr. Woodyard feels, "It is rather strange that American women should have to campaign among the people for their enfranchisement."

A very general feeling at the Capitol was expressed by a new convert to the federal amendment, who said:

"When we are fighting 'for democracy' as the President said, 'for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government' it seems a little ridiculous, to say the least, to deny a 'voice in their own government' to 20,000,000 American citizens. Even a mere man can see that that puts us in a false position before the world."

The Tide Turns

THE House will vote on the Susan B. Anthony amendment for the enfranchisement of women . . .

Simultaneously with this decision made today by the rules committee of the House, it became known that before that time the federal amendment will have been reported out from the woman suffrage committee with a favorable recommendation.

This is regarded by suffrage workers in Washington as a very hopeful sign. Only a week ago the amendment was reported from the judiciary committee without recommendation. The apparent contravention of parliamentary law whereby a resolution already before the House will be reported out again with a change in recommendation is only possible because the membership of the woman suffrage committee has been established since the judiciary committee made its report.

Representative Clyde Kelly, of Pennsylvania, a member of the rules committee, said today that it is the intention of that committee henceforth to use every means in its power to see that all suffrage legislation goes before the woman suffrage committee, of which Representative Raker, of California, is chairman, and Miss Rankin, ranking Republican member.

"I feel confident that the amendment has, to say the least, a good fighting chance," said Representative Kelly tonight. "The enthusiasm among those who are working for it is tremendous."—*The Philadelphia North American, December 18.*

Suffrage Wins Two-thirds Test Vote in House

ON December 18 the House took a test vote on suffrage—and suffrage won. By a vote of 234 to 107, the House carried a trivial motion on a question of referring suffrage bills to the Suffrage Committee and showed how the wind is setting for the coming vote on the amendment.

When the question was brought up only 141 members were present. Before the question was taken 341 men had flocked in to the House so that their votes could be recorded on this question. If the vote had been on the amendment the amendment would have got its two-thirds "yeas," with six votes over. The sign promises victory for the amendment.

The vote was taken on a resolution of Mr. Raker, of California, to refer to the new Committee on Woman Suffrage, of which he is chairman, two bills now in charge of the Committee on the Election of President, Vice-president and Representatives—bills "to protect the rights of women citizens of the United States to register and vote for Senators and members of the House." As soon as Mr. Raker asked unanimous consent for this resolution, Mr. Walsh, of Massachusetts, put a question:

"If the resolutions conferring the right of suffrage on women should receive favorable consideration by the House would it be necessary for any action to be taken by the House on either of these measures?"

"Presumably not," said Mr. Raker, "and I imagine that would be the attitude of the committee, but they claim jurisdiction, and some parties want to be heard, and the only thing is to give them an opportunity irrespective of what the committee might do; but I would say to the gentleman that when the House passes the constitutional amendment, which it undoubtedly will, I imagine there will be no reason, in fact, it would be hardly probable the committee would report this matter to the House. This, of course, can not be determined now."

As more questions and answers started up between Mr. Raker, Mr. Walsh, Mr. Campbell, of Kansas; Mr. Gard, Mr. Kincheloe and various other member wanting to know the point of the proceedings, it came out more and more clearly that this was just a matter of jurisdiction of this now most popular question. Nevertheless Mr. Raker held to his motion, though Mr. Kitchin was pleading "two very important matters that ought to be considered this morning."

The vote was taken and the Speaker announced that the ayes seemed to have it. Mr. Garrett, of Tennessee, demanded a division. Mr. Kincheloe objected that no quorum was present. When the count was made only 141 members were found to be there. At the Speaker's order the doorkeeper closed the door, the Sergeant-at-arms notified the absentees, and the clerk started the roll-call. Through every door the members hurried in to vote on suffrage. And Mr. Raker won his motion.

AT once Mr. Raker was again on his feet with a privileged motion. This time the House resolutions proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States "extending the right of suffrage to women," were to be transferred from the Judiciary Committee to the Committee on Woman Suffrage. There were five of these resolutions, introduced by Miss Rankin, Mr. Mondell, Mr. Keating, Mr. Hayden and Mr. Taylor.

Mr. Garrett, of Tennessee, pointed out that a resolution embodying the substance of each of these resolutions has already been reported out by the Judiciary Committee and is now before the House for action, and Mr. Gillette, of Massachusetts, asked if it was not therefore a waste of time for the House to do anything about the others.

How the House Voted

YEAS—234

Anderson
Austin
Ayres
Bacharach
Baer
Barkley
Barnhart
Beakes
Beshlin
Bland
Bowers
Britten
Burroughs
Byrns, Tenn.
Caldwell
Campbell, Kans.
Campbell, Pa.
Cannon
Cantrill
Caraway
Carter, Mass.
Carter, Okla.
Chandler, N. Y.
Church
Clark, Fla.
Claypool
Connelly, Kans.
Cooper, Ohio
Cooper, Wis.
Copley
Cramton
Crosser
Dale, N. Y.
Dale, Vt.
Dallinger
Darrow
Davidson
Denison
Dillon
Dixon
Doolittle
Dowell
Drane
Dyer
Edmonds
Elliott
Ellsworth
Elston
Emerson
Esch
Evans
Fairchild, B. L.
Fairchild
Farr
Ferris
Fields
Fisher
Flynn
Foss
Foster
Francis
Frear
Freeman
French
Fuller, Ill.
Fuller, Mass.
Gallagher
Gandy
Garland
Garrett, Tex.
Gillett
Glass
Glynn
Goodall
Graham, Ill.
Green, Iowa
Greene, Vt.
Griest
Hadley
Hamill
Hamilton, Mich.
Hamilton, N. Y.
Harrison, Va.
Haskell
Hastings
Hawley
Hayden
Heflin
Helvering
Hersey
Hicks
Hilliard
Hollingsworth
Huddleston
Hulbert
Hull, Iowa
Hutchinson
Igoe
Ireland
Jacoway
Johnson, S. Dak.
Johnson, Wash.
Juul
Keating
Kehoe
Kelley, Mich.
Kelly, Pa.
Kennedy, R. I.
Kettner
Kiess, Pa.
King
Kinkaid
Knutson
Kraus
Kreider
La Follette
Langley
Lea, Cal.
Lehlbach
Lenroot
Linthicum
Little
Littlepage
Lobeck
London
Lonergan
Longworth
Lufkin
Lundeen
Lunn
McAndrews
McArthur
McClintic
McCormick
McCulloch
McFadden
McKenzie
McKeown
McKinley
McLaughlin, Mich.
McLemore
Madden
Magee
Maher
Mays
Merritt
Miller, Minn
Mondell
Montague
Moore, Pa.
Morgan
Morin
Mott
Mudd
Norton
Oldfield
Oliver, N. Y.
Olney
Osborne
O'Shaunessy
Overmyer
Padgett
Parker, N. Y.
Phelan
Porter
Pou
Powers
Pratt
Purnell
Rainey
Raker
Ramsey
Randall
Rankin
Reavis
Riordan
Rodenberg
Rose
Rowe
Sabath
Sanders, Ind.
Schall
Sears
Sells
Shallenberger
Shouse
Siegel
Sims
Sinnott
Sloan
Smith, Idaho
Smith, Mich.
Smith, C. B.
Smith, T. F.
Snell
Snyder
Stedman
Steenerson
Sterling, Ill.
Stiness
Strong
Sweet
Swift
Switzer
Taylor, Ark.
Temple
Templeton
Thompson
Tillman
Timberlake
Towner
Treadway
Van Dyke
Vare
Vestal
Volstead
Waldow
Walsh
Walton
Ward
Watson, Pa.
Weaver
Welling
Wheeler
White, Me.
White, Ohio
Williams
Wilson Ill.
Wingo
Winslow
Wood, Ind.
Woods, Iowa
Young, N. Dak.
Zihlman

NAYS—107

Alexander
Almon
Ashbrook
Aswell
Bankhead
Bell
Black
Blackmon
Booher
Borland
Brand
Brodbeck
Browning
Buchanan
Burnett
Byrnes, S. C.
Candler
Carlin
Classon
Coady
Collier
Connally, Tex.
Cooper, W. Va.
Crisp
Decker
Dent
Denton
Dickinson
Dies
Dominick
Doremus
Drukker
Dunn
Dupre
Estopinal
Flood
Fordney
Gard
Garrett, Tenn.
Gordon
Gould
Gregg
Hamlin
Hardy
Harrison, Miss.
Heaton
Helm
Hensley
Holland
Hood
Hull, Tenn.
Humphreys
James
Johnson, Ky.
Jones, Va.
Kearns
Key, Ohio
Kincheloe
Kitchin
Lazaro
Lee, Ga.
Lesher
Lever
Mansfield
Mapes
Martin
Moon
Moore, Ind.
Nicholls, S. C.
Oliver, Ala.
Overstreet
Paige
Park
Parker, N. J.
Platt
Polk
Price
Quin
Ramsey
Rayburn
Romje
Rouse
Robey
Rucker
Russell
Sanford
Scott, Mich.
Sherley
Sherwood
Sisson
Slayden
Small
Steagall
Stephens
Stevenson
Sumner
Talbott
Thomas
Vinson
Walker
Watkins
Watson, Va.
Webb
Whaley
Wilson, La.
Wilson, Tex.
Young, Tex.

"If that were a parliamentary inquiry," said Speaker Clark, "which it is not—the Chair would say, 'Yes, it is a waste of time.'" Mr. Raker assured the House that the bills did not read exactly like the one reported, however, and after more debate in which all the members showed deep sympathy with the wish of the Suffrage Committee to have some part in putting through suffrage, Speaker Clark, seeming to feel there is glory enough for all, ruled that the bills could not be transferred to the new committee but might be reintroduced and then referred to the Woman Suffrage Committee.

The five bills proposing the amendment for woman suffrage were again introduced that very day.

Woman Suffrage Committee Appointed

MR. Kitchin, leader of the Democratic Party of the House of Representatives, submitted to the House on December 13 the names of seven members proposed by the Democrats as members of the newly-created Committee on Woman Suffrage. They were John E. Raker, California, chairman; Edward W. Saunders, Virginia; Frank Clark, Florida; Benjamin C. Hilliard, Colorado; James H. Mays, Utah; Christopher D. Sullivan, New York; Thomas L. Blanton, Texas. Mr. Gillett, Republican from Massachusetts, acting leader of the Republican Party in the House in the absence of Mr. Mann, proposed the names of six Republicans for the committee: Miss Jeanette Rankin, Montana; Frank W. Mondell, Wyoming; William H. Carter, Massachusetts; Jacob E. Meeker, Missouri; Edward C. Little, Kansas; Richard N. Elliott, Indiana. Meyer London, of New York, Socialist, then moved to strike out the name of Sullivan and to substitute the name of Meyer London as a member of the committee. This motion was defeated.

The membership of the committee as proposed by the majority and minority leaders was agreed upon by the House.

Mr. Kitchin proposed, on December 18th, that by unanimous consent the membership of the suffrage committee be increased by one and that Mr. London be appointed as the new member. Mr. Garrett, of Tennessee, objected, thereby defeating the proposal.

The appointing of this committee is the sudden end of a long-drawn-out struggle begun by Susan B. Anthony to insure as speedy a hearing for suffrage in the House as in the Senate. The Congressional Union resumed effort to get this committee created in 1913. Two hearings before the Rules Committee have been had by the Congressional Union and the National Woman's Party, the last one during the War Session of Congress.

At the end of this session, late in September, with the picketing campaign at its height, the Administration that has steadily opposed taking the suffrage amendment from the unfriendly Judiciary Committee gave the word, and the resolution to create this committee was hastily flung out of committee and passed in the House by a partisan vote of 181 to 107. The appointment of the committee was then held up until this week—after the Judiciary Committee has reported out the amendment without recommendation.

All but four members of the committee support national suffrage.

Immediately after the formation of the committee it met to organize. The committee decided to try to have transferred to its custody the suffrage measures pending in the judiciary and in the elections committee and resolutions to this effect were subsequently introduced in the House by Mr. Raker. Mr. Raker and Miss Rankin, ranking Republican member of the committee, appeared on December 18 before the Rules Committee to discuss the question of the time for the vote on the suffrage amendment in the House. After receiving assurance from the Rules Committee that the measure would not be brought to vote before the tenth of January, and then only if requested by the Suffrage Committee, Mr. Raker announced that his committee would hold hearings on the subject, beginning January 3, for both suffragists and anti-suffragists.

The Picket Temperament

AWAY back in 1872 Susan Anthony, no longer able to rest silently tolerant of a Government that had given enfranchisement to its black men and simultaneously taken it away from its white women, cast a vote in the presidential election of that year.

This same spirit of flaming protest against injustice had led the men of America to seize the King's stamps in the harbor at Wilmington, and to throw the King's tea into the bay at Boston.

But, she was immediately arrested and fined $100.

She refused to pay it.

This was no empty gesture flung into the face of the gods of the things as they are.

It was a carefully premediated course of action. Susan Anthony was a school teacher. She cast this vote to arouse and enlighten the people—"To shatter rusty traditions"—to educate.

They called her crazy—the fine gentlemen—and mocked in the streets this undaunted foe of ignorance, injustice and prejudice.

But she lived to see the intelligent West give to its women equal rights with its men—to see the best of America awake to the truth that the question of suffrage is "so elemental." Either a woman is a human being or she is not.

Belva Lockwood was twice nominated by the Equal Rights Party for president of the United States. No man of any sense believes that a woman with the natural ability, the political acumen and legal training of Belva Lockwood thought that in 1884 she could be President of the United States.

Her candidacy flaunted in the outraged eyes of men as a banner of ivory, purple, and gold.

She wanted to promote and provoke discussion, to set all the tongues to wagging, to set all those who had brains to talking to and educating those who had none, to bring the question—"Why shouldn't a woman be President of the United States?"—so squarely before the people of the United States that no man could ignore the issue.

For your true picket, through cracking the boneheads of the world awake to the fact that today's beautiful crusade for the safety of democracy cannot go very far or travel very fast without taking into intelligent consideration the rights of the woman who furnishes her share of the ammunition for the campaign, obtains the same exquisite thrill of achievement that her less ambitious sister acquires from rolling bandages, collecting books, knitting sweaters and making jam for the same High Cause.

For this is the picket temperament, in religion, in love and in political philosophy—it puts away childish things. It blazes the trail. It dares and drives. It taunts its possessor for a craven tolerance of bounds unbroken, of heights unclimbed; mocks her with the mirage of liberties unattained.

If democracy in its largest sense is worth plunging the world into blood to preserve, isn't one essential phase of it worth picketing the highways with banners to obtain? And if six months in jail and $100 in fine can bite into the conscience of the world the shame of its refusing with one hand to women the least of her rights, and taking with the other hand, in its hour of need, all that she is able to give to its support—then "traffic" is likely to be "obstructed" for some time to come.

"For the day is brief on the trail of fame—the season ends—but the records wait."

'We press our demand for the ballot at this time, in no narrow, captious or selfish spirit, but from purest patriotism, for the highest good of every citizen, for the safety of the Republic, and as a glorious example to the nations of the earth," wrote Susan Anthony in the sixties, and the courage of the high convictions that make for direct action is most contagious and far-spreading.—*Elizabeth Helen Hunter, conductor of "The Wimmen, God Bless 'Em!" column in the Raleigh (N. C.) Times, November 3.*

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported
Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Present Status
In the Senate
On the calendar awaiting a vote.
In the House
Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee
In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon
In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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The Prohibition Amendment and the States Rights Argument

"I HAVE been thinking seriously about voting on the suffrage amendment. I have always had a feeling that the states should take care of the suffrage, but since the prohibition bill went through I have changed my views." This was the statement of a southern Democrat in the House of Representatives following the passage of the national prohibition amendment this week.

The southern Democrats, always the most vigorous element in raising the question of states rights with regard to suffrage, gave the prohibition amendment in the House of Representatives their almost solid support. Representative Webb, of North Carolina, leader of the prohibition forces, took up the states rights issue as follows:

"First, Gentlemen, this is not a prohibition vote. It is a question of referendum. Will you balk on submitting to states of the Nation this great question whether or not liquor as a beverage shall be banished from the country? Are you afraid to trust the states? The states made the Constitution, reserving to themselves the right to amend it, and that is when two-thirds of both Houses of Congress deem it necessary that an amendment should be submitted. I submit to you gentlemen, 'wets' and 'drys' alike, that you should be willing to stand by your states in giving them the opportunity to amend the greatest instrument ever struck off by the pen of man, and submit to the forty-eight sovereign states the question whether liquor as a beverage should be banished from the land."

Mr. Caraway, another southern Democrat, dealt with the same subject:

"Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House, I shall make the assertion in the beginning, and prove it by the votes of the gentlemen in this House, that the question of whether the state should be permitted to deal with this question is not the reason that is going to actuate them in their vote here today. I believe I can prove by the Record that there is not a consistent state rights man in this House; that there is not a man here that will not swap his position on that question any time the question at issue is one that he either approves or disapproves. . . . . Now, here is what I am trying to prove: That you vote for or against a measure as you favor or disapprove the proposed law. I am going to prove this by polling your votes as revealed in the Record and show you how you vote on this prohibition law, how you voted to deny the states the right to govern their internal affairs on the question of child labor and said that the products of child labor should not be permitted in the interstate commerce."

And so throughout the debate came attacks on the states rights position from man after man of the party and the section of the country supposed to be the states rights stronghold. When the vote was finally taken, it was found that of the 282 votes in support of the amendment 105 were cast by southern Democrats and that only 25 southern Democrats opposed the measure.

The action last Monday on prohibition came at an excellent time as far as its influence on the suffrage vote is concerned, not only because it establishes another precedent for amending the national Constitution, but because it has taken the ground from under the states rights argument hitherto advanced against the suffrage amendment by many who this week voted for prohibition.

The Picketing Campaign Nears Victory

Speech of Mabel Vernon at National Advisory Council Conference, December 7

I SHOULD like to go back to the 9th of last January. Probably a great many of you went to the President on that day in a delegation which presented to him the resolutions adopted at the memorial services for Inez Milholland.

In San Francisco and in New York memorial services were held, and on Christmas day in Statuary Hall at the Capitol there was that beautiful service that many of us remember; it made an impression, I think, that we will never allow to escape from our memories. These services were filled with the very spirit of Inez Milholland herself. She had the undaunted kind of spirit that never recognizes defeat, that is always filled with the desire to go on and do more, do the thing which will win. It was that spirit which caught each one of those services.

The resolutions addressed to the President said: "Mr. President, we appeal to you to put a stop to all further waste of effort on the part of women in this struggle to procure suffrage. Mr. President, we appeal to you to put a stop to any further waste of life on the part of women in the fight for their enfranchisement."

IT was rather difficult to procure that audience with the President. It took a good bit of persuasion, not only from us, but from members of Congress, from Senators and from Representatives, to make the President see that he really should receive a delegation of suffragists on this occasion and hear from them what they desired of him. In the light of what he had said, in the light of what he had written during the few months past, it would not have been an amazing thing at all, if on this January day he had simply announced: "Yes, I am going to recommend the passage of the National Suffrage Amendment to Congress, I am going to put all my power behind it."

You remember how he had gone down to Atlantic City and told the convention of national suffragists that he had come to "fight with them." You recall how in the campaign in the West for election, President Wilson had sent campaign orators to speak for him in regard to woman suffrage. I can remember very well how Mr. Dudley Field Malone came to Reno, when we were campaigning there, and said as the chief point in his address to women voters on that night, that we need not be afraid to vote for President Wilson if we cared anything about national woman suffrage; that the President truly was the friend of woman suffrage, and that if he were returned to the White House through the help of the Western women, there would soon be action on the national suffrage amendment.

Not only the spoken words of orators but literature from the campaign committee of the Democratic Party gave us hopes that President Wilson had come to the point where he would stand for national suffrage. "I intend to vote for woman suffrage in New Jersey because I believe that the time has come to extend that privilege and responsibility to the women of the *state*." That was the statement from the White House, when President Wilson set out to New Jersey to vote for woman suffrage there in 1915. But this little document which I hold in my hand, and which was spread throughout the West, so that every woman who was going to vote received one, has had a change made in it. It reads: "I intend to vote for woman suffrage in New Jersey because I believe that the time has come to extend that privilege and responsibility to the women of the *nation*, October 6, 1915, Woodrow Wilson." Certainly we had reason to believe, when this came from the national democratic headquarters in Chicago, as it did, that so very important a change had been made with full authority from the President.

But to the delegation the President January 9 said the very same thing we had heard on several different occasions: "Ladies, I think you make a mistake in coming to me. I cannot speak for my party, I must wait until my party speaks to me. I am not the leader of my party, I am only the servant of my party."

As we stood there that day and listened to the President, his words amazed us. Our minds went back to legislation about which the President had not waited for his party to speak to him; we naturally thought of Panama Canal tolls and other bills on which the President had caused his party absolutely to reverse itself. He has not hesitated to lead his party when he believed that it was wise and expedient that his party should take certain action. That was the leadership which we had always hoped from him in regard to woman suffrage.

At the end of that interview came those words that were practically a direct command to us: "I will tell you, ladies, the thing which you must do. You must concert public opinion in this country in behalf of woman suffrage. "The group of women simply stood in the East Room of the White House, never moved, never turned for a little while. The secret service men came and pushed us back a little. Then the doors opened behind the President and he went out. The doors were shut in our faces; and those were the last words left with us: "Ladies, concert public opinion in behalf of woman suffrage."

WE went across the square very slowly, and when we came to our headquarters we sat down there in the drawing-room. Everybody was thinking, considering what the President had said to us, and questioning, "What are we going to do now?"

Then Mrs. Blatch spoke those words that we all remember. She said that we could not be satisfied simply to go to the President once a year, or even many times a year, as we had been going. Think of the number of times we went in the four years of President Wilson's first administration!

"But now," said Mrs. Blatch, "we must go to him every day, we must have a continuous delegation to the President of the United States, if he is to realize the never-ceasing, insistent demand of women that he take action where he is responsible.

"We may not be admitted within the doors, but we can at least stand at the gates. We may not be allowed to raise our voices and speak to the President, but we can address him just the same, because our message to him will be inscribed upon the banners which we will carry in our hands. Let us post our silent sentinels at the gates of the White House."

You can remember the way in which that suggestion was received.

The silent sentinels started out the next day. On the 10th of January that straight, steady, line left Headquarters, each woman with a banner in her hand. They marched down Madison Place, swung up the Avenue and took their places at the gates of the White House.

You remember the banners that they carried, the banners that a good many of us learned to love, the purple, white and gold, and those which said: "Mr. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?" "Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?" Those were the banners which met the President as he came in that first morning.

If our pickets had not done anything more than stand there that first day, they would have accomplished much for the Federal Amendment, because through the press millions and millions of people were reached on that one day and made to think of national woman suffrage.

ON the 14th day of May Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins arranged an interview with the President for a committee consisting of five people, four men, each representing a political party, and the representative of the Woman's Party. We each had a different theme to present to the President in argument for the federal amendment. I told him that I did not believe he knew how well his own words, his own writings interpret the spirit of the women working for suffrage. I continued:

"Mr. President, the words you spoke in Congress on the night of the 2d of April, when in the concluding part of your war address you said, 'We shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government,' exactly express the reason that we women never cease to work for woman suffrage. That is the thing we carry nearest our hearts, the democracy for which we fight. Don't you see that those words of yours exactly interpret the spirit of our hearts?" The tears came into the President's eyes. He was moved, obviously affected, for he loved these words of his.

After each one of the men had presented his particular reason for regarding this as a war measure, the President said: "I am free to tell you that this is a matter which is daily pressing upon my mind for reconsideration."

Do you wonder that I smiled? How could I help it? Had we not been standing at his

gates every day for four whole months? From the 10th of January to the 14th of May, those banners had been the chief sight which met the President's eyes every time he went out and every time he came in. Do you wonder that he said the matter daily pressed upon his mind for reconsideration?

If there were no other thing that we could point to and say: "This is a result the picket line has accomplished," those words of the President would be a remarkably significant thing. Was it not worth standing there through the cold weather and on the hot days which began to come early in the summer? Was it not worth even going to prison for, to have national woman suffrage daily in the mind of the President?

WE know very well, however, that that was not the only thing which that picket line accomplished. Truly, I do not know how we could have kept alive the woman suffrage question in the war session of Congress if it had not been for the banners that we held, not only at the White House, but also on Capitol Hill.

The Congressmen who talked to us about not enfranchising women because this nation was so concerned with the affairs of the war met the banners standing there: "England and Russia are enfranchising their women in war-time; how long must American women wait for liberty?" And so all during the war session, woman suffrage was kept alive because the banners were the visible evidence of the demand of women in all parts of the country that this question of democracy at home should be settled at a time when we fight for democracy abroad.

ON the 20th of June, a banner was carried out to receive the Russian envoys as they drove through the gate, and a passerby tore it down because he did not like the truth told upon it. Nothing more happened that day. The banners stood there just the same, purple, white and gold, brought out in place of the torn one.

On the night of the 21st of June Major Pullman came to our headquarters and told us that we must not carry out any more banners. When we answered, "This is a well-considered policy which we have adopted; and we can not tell you on the spur of the moment that we will not do this thing merely because you give this command," he said: "I will give you until nine o'clock tomorrow morning. Call me up at my office and tell me what you are going to do." Are you surprised that the next morning we called up Major Pullman and said to him: "Major Pullman, we are going out with our banners." And we went.

Lucy Burns and Katherine Morey went to the White House, and when they arrived there, spread out between them the banner with the inscription, "We shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy" and so on. For fear that the police might not recognize this laudable sentiment, we carefully inscribed on the bottom, "President Wilson's war message to Congress, April 2, 1917." This should have been perfectly safe—quoting the President's words at his own gate that morning. But Miss Burns and Miss Morey had been there only about two minutes when there was a police woman standing beside them, saying, "I place you under arrest."

They answered, as we had agreed they should, thinking that here was a question which was absolutely unanswerable, "On what charge do you arrest us?" And the answer came back, "On the charge of obstructing traffic." Major Pullman apparently had been at work over night. He had been finding out just as we had found out that there is no law against carrying a banner; he had found out just as we had known always that you cannot arrest a person for peacefully picketing. But on the charge of obstructing traffic a few days later six women were sentenced to three days in the District Jail.

On the 4th of July a splendid group of women, twelve of them, walked out with their banner, "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." And while Speaker Clark back of the White House on the Ellipse, was making those ringing speeches which are always made on the 4th of July about liberty and the government of the people, quoting the Declaration of Independence, the women who bore a quotation from the Declaration of Independence in front of the White House, were arrested and also sentenced to three days in jail.

Then the 14th of July rolled around, and on that day they were celebrating in Washington the Fall of the Bastille. At the same time those celebrations were going on, sixteen women went out of our headquarters with banners that read, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"—the slogan of the French Revolution. Those women were sentenced to sixty days in the work-house at Occoquan.

I SUPPOSE we all recognize that poor Judge Mullowny was not responsible for this. Major Pullman, too, was not responsible for the sentence which was pronounced on that day. We recognized back of it all, back of the arrests and back of the sentences, the authority of the Administration.

After three days the women sentenced to sixty days were pardoned by the President. Women who were arrested at the gates about the middle of August were sentenced to thirty days at Occoquan. We never knew exactly how many days we would receive when we went out with a banner, because the policy of the administration varied constantly.

The women who carried banners the 4th of September received sixty days.

THEN came the time when Alice Paul went out, carrying the banner that we all know so well now, taken from the President's own words again, "The time has come to conquer or submit, for us there is but one choice, we have made it." On her the outrageous sentence of seven months was imposed, apparently with the idea that in the person of Alice Paul they had seized the one who inspired the demonstrations, the woman responsible for the apparently irrepressible demand on the part of women.

Such a stupid government! The imprisonment of Alice Paul aroused such a fire of burning indignation that women everywhere were stirred, that protests came in thousands to the President and women came in person to voice their protests and to voice it in the most effective way they could find. Forty-one women appeared on the picket line on the 10th of November. The demand had not been silenced.

And the answer that came to those women was varying terms of imprisonment, from six days for Mrs. Nolan, a woman seventy-three years of age, to six months for Lucy Burns, another "ringleader."

We know what happened when those women demanded that they be treated as political prisoners, and, as a protest against the treatment imposed upon them, went on hunger-strike. The hunger-strike called attention to their just demands, and a storm of indignation was aroused in every part of the country. The effect was sure and came quickly. All suffrage prisoners were released.

WE have a right to believe that the government at last recognizes the untenable position it has maintained when it has declared that we fight for democracy—and refused democracy to those at home; when it sends millions of men to fight for it in Europe and imprisons and tortures women who struggle for it here.

Certainly those things the pickets have done, certainly the suffering women have shown they are willing to endure has had this effect—that our government is spurred to action. Those who say they are friends have hung back and been slow to act; we believe they have been roused to see the urgency of immediate action. Those who were enemies are now taking the position that agitation which grows more and more intense must be ended, at least removed from the capital and scattered among the legislatures of forty-eight states.

We believe that we occupy this position today, why? Because of the picketing. Because of the imprisonment of those women, the situation has become intense, and the only answer to it is action. That is the reason we believe that when the suffrage amendment comes to a vote in the present Congress, it will pass.

BUT suppose the vote when it is taken does not win the amendment? What have we in store for us? Why, we can simply go on doing what we have done, we can simply go on pressing with every means at our command that this thing should be done, we can go on lobbying for it just as we have lobbied—how insistent and how incessant that lobbying has been!—we can go on organizing for it as we have organized. And certainly we can go on demonstrating, giving right here in Washington the visualization of all this sentiment which does exist, we know it exists, in all parts of our country.

Our course is very plain before us. We have tried the things we have thought best in the last five years; we know pretty well where we stand; we know what is good and what is not good; we know what to discard and what to use to the very limit of our ability. Those are our future plans, to go right straight on until the amendment is won.

National Committee of State Chairmen Organizes

THE National Woman's Party is now organized in every state of the Union. For this reason it was felt important during the recent National Advisory Council Conference in Washington to call together the chairmen of all the state branches to compare plans and methods of work and to form a national committee of these Party officers. This meeting was held on Saturday morning, December 8, and proved one of the most interesting and valuable meetings of the Conference.

Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, chairman of the Delaware branch, presided, and thirty-two state chairmen or their proxies were present. The first business that came up was the organization of the chairmen into the national committee, and the election of the officers for this committee. Mrs. Hilles was made chairman and Miss Mary Ingham, chairman of the Pennsylvania branch, secretary.

Plans for closer co-operation between the states were then discussed as well as plans for co-operation with the departments of the National Headquarters. Ideas for a more intensive organization in the states were worked out, and Miss Paul spoke briefly on the importance of this work and the value of an organizer in each state to help with it. Many of the states, through the chairmen, pledged themselves to finance organizers, and plans were made at the meeting to send organizers into the different states at once.

Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel, of the press department, talked of the value of using the local press, and of the necessity of securing as wide publicity as possible as each new situation arose in the campaign for the federal amendment.

Many state chairmen gave illustrations of methods used in their respective states which had proved of value in the organization work.

ON a motion made by Miss Ingham it was voted to hold a meeting of the committee at every National Conference, other meetings to be called whenever the chairman and members of the committee felt it advisable.

Among the chairmen at the meeting were Mrs. Elinor Carlisle, California; Mrs. E. C. Jenkins, Utah; Miss Ella Abeel, Illinois; Mrs. Nelson Whittemore, Michigan; Reverend Olympia Brown, proxy for Miss Ada James, Wisconsin; Mrs. Valentine Winters, Ohio; Mrs. Sophie Meredith, Virginia; Mrs. M. L. Graham-Bankston, Louisiana; Mrs. Robert Treat Whitehouse, Maine; Mrs. W. D. Ascough, Connecticut, and Miss Sallie W. Hovey, New Hampshire.

National Party Sees Wilson on Suffrage

THE liberals in the United States are making a demand for action on woman suffrage from our backward democracy that cannot be waived aside by the Democratic Party. For they are putting votes behind it.

This was proved again last week when a committee from the new National Party, representing masses of men and women voters, went to President Wilson to assure him of the Party's loyalty during the war and to ask that he put through the federal amendments for suffrage and prohibition. The President received the delegation on December 10th at the White House. The men that made it up were: Mr. Ira Landrith, acting chairman of the Party; Mr. Mathew Hale, of Massachusetts, former chairman of the Progressives; Mr. John Spargo, chairman of the Social Democrats; Mr. Virgil Henshaw, chairman Prohibition Party; and Mr. John S. Codman, representing the independent groups in general and the single taxers in particular.

Mr. Landrith addressed the President, urging upon him the necessity of an early granting of suffrage to women on the same terms as men; national prohibition of the liquor traffic by the President during the war and permanently after the war by constitutional amendment, and a safeguarding of the rights of free speech to allow, even in time of war, the utmost liberty of discussion consistent with national security and unlikely to give military information to the enemy. He made quite clear that the liberal men in this country are aroused by the injustice and hypocrisy of the government's treatment of the suffrage question. He said in part:

"WE come as Americans to address you as the President of the United States, the leader and spokesman of our republic. We seek no advantage for our own or any other political party. Merely availing ourselves of the privileges of democracy, and exercising the rights of loyal citizens, we have come, sir, to reassure you of the National Party's fealty to our country and its allies in this war, which in our platform we recognize as fundamentally a struggle between . . . democracy . . . and . . . autocracy, a war to resist international aggression and lawlessness, to establish a permanent basis for international peace, and to aid in the movement toward democracy in all lands.

"You are aware, Mr. President, that the National Party, perpetuating, as it does, other movements which have long and honorably contended for certain great political and social reforms, represents the aspirations of these groups for democracy in government, in industry and international relations. You will neither expect us to abandon nor to postpone these cherished aims. *Loyalty to our national cause does not require any lessening of our devotion to the social ideals we have striven to advance.* You would not value our profession of fealty if in the instant of that avowal we were disloyal to the great principles we have cherished and have tried to advance.

"In the forefront of our thinking in these times, along with the eager desire to help you win the war, are two vital issues to the achievement of which we wish you might elect to give immediately the tremendous weight of your authority and influence. These are—

"1. The general enfranchisement of women on equal terms with men; and

"2. The complete prohibition of the liquor traffic.

"We acknowledge appreciatively also, your counsel which, opportunely given, helped to equal suffrage in New York. We agree with your conviction, expressed at that time, that there are some great questions the settlement of which cannot await the close of the war. We wish, therefore, that you might agree with us that both national equal suffrage and national prohibition are chief among these matters requiring immediate attention, both apparently now demanded by the whole country, and, we think, both necessary in war and vital to national well-being in peace.

"We believe, Sir, that you will readily understand us when we say that some of those for whom we speak have been anxious lest the great fundamental civil liberties, without which there can be no democracy, may be imperilled. They have deplored what seemed to them a needless and undemocratic policy of repression and suppression of criticism and minority opinion.

"In harmony with our purpose never to add unnecessarily to the load you are carrying for humanity, we have presented with utmost brevity only those claims upon your thought that, it seemed to us, you could most quickly grant to the country, or *that would be promptly enacted into laws by Congress, should you make request.*"

THE answer President Wilson gave the deputation when he had heard this statement —with its pertinent emphasis on what democracy demands even in war-time—was made with the condition it should not be given out. The attitude of the men who heard it, however, was clearly that the President, in whose hands the suffrage amendment lies, was sharply aware of that fact and of the importance of the issue. That this vigorous young minority party, which with the Farmers' Non-partisan league has already sapped an alarming amount of strength from the old organizations, goes straight to President Wilson and demands action on suffrage has focussed the spotlight again on the man responsible.

New Drive for Victory Spreads Through Country

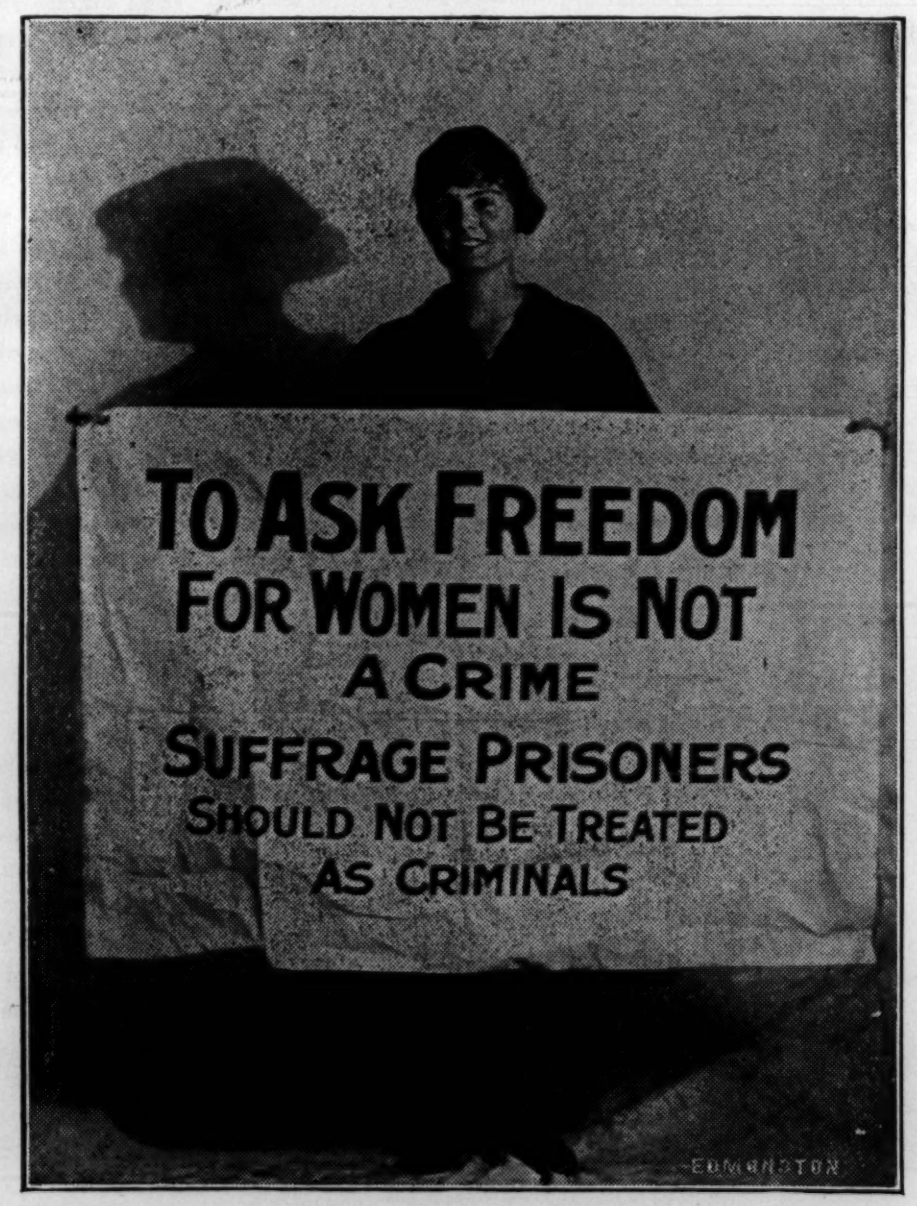
A FRESH effort to bring every ounce of political strength to bear for national suffrage in the interval before the vote is taken in the House followed the National Advisory Council Conference at Headquarters the first week in December. Party officers from every part of the country left Washington to go back and fight for the amendment, fired with the determination to make their states count to the utmost in the last lap of the battle. Plans for meetings, for deputations to Congressmen, for protests and resolutions to the Administration, for intensive organization were worked out at the conference and are already in full swing.

National organizers, greatly in demand at this crisis, are setting out to many states to work with the state branches. Miss Clara Louise Rowe has gone to Iowa to help arrange a state conference to be held in Des Moines January 8. Miss Alice Henkel will be in Colorado; Miss Iris Calderhead in Massachusetts; Miss Elizabeth McShane, who resigned her position as assistant bond seller in the women's department of Bonbright and Company, Philadelphia, to picket, will work with the Pennsylvania Branch. Miss Hazel Hunkins will assist Miss Elsie Hill in the New York headquarters. Miss Lucy Branham is to help the Maryland branch; Miss Margaret Whittemore the Illinois branch, and Miss Julia Emory will be organizer in the District of Columbia.

MEETINGS will be held immediately in many cities to crystallize public demand for national suffrage, with the very best speakers in the Party to press home the suffrage situation. In Providence, Rhode Island, Mabel Vernon will speak at a meeting arranged by Miss Mildred Glines, the Rhode Island state chairman. Miss Mary Winsor will speak in Pennsylvania at Shamokin, where a meeting is being arranged by Miss Kate Heffelfinger. Mrs. Abby Scott Baker is setting out for a tour of the middle West, where she will speak in Chicago, at the Iowa conference, in Sioux City, at a Michigan meeting arranged by Mrs. J. Nelson Whittemore, and an Ohio meeting planned by Mrs. Valentine Winters.

Mrs. Howard Gould is arranging a meeting in Richmond, Virginia, to which Dudley Field Malone will go as speaker. He will speak also at a great mass meeting in Carnegie Hall on January 4 to rouse New York voters to the crisis for the amendment. At this meeting, of which Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont will be chairman, there will also speak Miss Mabel Vernon, Miss Maud Younger, Miss Rose Winslow, recently released from jail after weeks of hunger-striking, and Mrs. Harvey Wiley. Many pickets will be present on the platform, and the meeting, summing up the picket campaign and coming just before the vote which has been forced by it, will be one of the most important suffrage meetings ever held in New York City.

Miss Mary Winsor, Picket Prisoner



Miss Lucy Branham, Picket Prisoner

WHILE the attention of the country has been fixed on the Administration's outrageous treatment of suffragists in Washington who asked action on suffrage, and the national conference brought officers from East, West and South to Headquarters, the National Woman's Party through the country has been backing up this front-line activity by meetings and by further organization.

In the South Miss Lucy Branham, of Baltimore, and Miss Mary Winsor, of Haverford, Pennsylvania, pickets who recently served two months in Occoquan, spoke in Norfolk and Richmond, Virginia. In Norfolk, on December 3, Mrs. Walter Adams arranged a meeting at the Monticello Hotel. At this meeting, which followed a dinner given the speakers by Mrs. Adams, the audience was roused by Miss Branham's and Miss Winsor's clear presenting of the Administration's treatment of the suffrage question to pass resolutions demanding the immediate passage of the amendment and an investigation of Occoquan work-house, for which the Virginia audience felt a special responsibility. An enthusiastic street meeting followed at which seven hundred people were reached with the picket story.

In Richmond, on December 5, where Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith arranged the meeting at the Hotel Jefferson, and presided, the same resolutions proposed and seconded by four men, all Democrats, were passed with great vigor of conviction. That evening a street meeting before big crowds proved again that the South is behind the amendment that will bring justice to women. Resolutions were passed again with enthusiasm.

ON December 1 Mr. Dudley Field Malone addressed a mass meeting in Baltimore at Albaugh's Theatre, arranged under the Maryland branch by Miss Lucy Bran-

ham, organizer. About twelve hundred people heard his splendid summing up of the Democratic Party's blockade of suffrage and the fight the National Woman's Party has made to break it. On the next day he got the story to three thousand men and women at a meeting of the Baltimore Open Forum, where he spoke on democracy and described the tremendous struggle one-half the population of the United States has to make even today for the most elemental justice. Dr. Hoag, secretary of the Baltimore Prisoner's Aid Society, who had heard the habeas corpus proceedings at the court in Alexandria the week before, was chairman of this meeting.

IN Pennsylvania, where keen interest in the Woman's Party campaign has been aroused by the many women from that state on the picket line and in prison, a series of meetings has been held during the last two months, at many of which Miss Mary Winsor has spoken. On December 4 Miss Mabel Vernon and Miss Anne Martin spoke in Pittsburg at the Hotel Anderson. On December 11, through the agency of Mrs. Walter Cope, of Germantown, Mrs. Helena Hill Weed and Miss Lucy Branham were asked to address the annual meeting of the Philadelphia Prison Reform Association. They described the appalling conditions at Occoquan and the District Jail which the Administration has forced women asking enfranchisement to undergo and aroused great interest among the men and women who know prison conditions. Resolutions were passed calling upon Congress to investigate Occoquan workhouse, and copies were sent to the state delegation. Dr. Lewis, former Dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School and Progressive candidate for governor in 1914, was presiding officer at the meeting.

ON December 3, in Syracuse, New York, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker spoke at a meeting arranged by Mrs. F. R. Hazard at the Y. M. C. A. Hall in that city. On the 7th Miss Lucy Branham told the whole picket story to three hundred teachers and students at the National Park Seminary in Washington, who responded with a tremendous interest and sympathy. Miss Gladys Greiner arranged the meeting. On the 16th Miss Maude Younger was asked to speak before the Secular League in Washington, in Pythian Temple Hall. Her talk on "The Ethics of Picketing" roused an enthusiasm that kept the meeting, which opened at three o'clock, in session until a quarter to seven.

New Jersey State Convention

ON December 12 the New Jersey Branch of the National Woman's Party held its third annual convention in Newark at the Washington Restaurant. This convention followed a notable series of meeting through the state in the last two months at many of which the lantern slide story of the National Woman's Party was shown by Mrs. Helena Hill Weed. As a result the convention gathered women from all parts of New Jersey who came with keen desire to get into the active fight for suffrage.

The morning business session, with Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, state chairman, presiding, reported on the year's work and elected officers. The Reverend George C. Vincent, of Newark, made the opening prayer, and Mayor Charles P. Gillen the address of welcome to the members. Mrs. Abram J. Rose, of Short Hills, state *Suffragist* chairman, gave an account of the National Advisory Council Conference at Headquarters, and Mrs. George G. Scott, of Montclair, one of the November 10th pickets unable to be at the Washington mass meeting, was presented with her prison pin.

About one hundred women were present at the brilliant luncheon that followed the morning session. Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer was toastmistress, introducing John Haynes Holmes, the famous New York clergyman, who spoke on the amendment as a war issue, and Dudley Field Malone, who put the responsibility for the blocking of suffrage up to the Administration with a fire that completely won his audience. At the afternoon open session, which began at two-thirty and held the audience with its interest until nearly six o'clock, Mrs. Havemeyer spoke on "Suffrage Work in War-time," Mrs. Charles A. Beard, of New York, on "The Reason for Demanding a Federal Amendment," and Miss Lucy Burns on "The Night of Terror." Miss Lou Rogers, of New York, cartoonist, in a series of clever cartoons drew the victory of the pickets over a government that has bent and twisted the law to suit its purpose.

The collection speech that closed the meeting was made by Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, chairman, and raised fourteen hundred dollars toward the work of this active branch for next year.

The officers elected at the convention are: chairman, Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, of Morristown; vice-chairmen, Miss Julia S. Hurlbut, of Morristown and Short Hills; Mrs. Frank A. Pattison, of Colonia; Mrs. Jay Ten Eyck, of Newark; treasurer, Mrs. R. M. Laird, of Newark; secretary, Mrs. George G. Scott, of Montclair. Mrs. Abram J. Rose, of Short Hills, has been re-appointed by the chairman, as *Suffragist* Chairman.

Comments of the Press

Everything to Gain

THE Administration has everything to gain and nothing to lose by putting the national suffrage amendment through Congress immediately. It wishes to get rid of a troublesome matter and to end the demonstration at the White House gates. It knows that nothing short of favorable action on the amendment will end this agitation for democracy at home, which is increasingly embarrassing to a government waging a war abroad in the name of democracy.

The only reasonable purpose in a vote at this time is the passage of the amendment. The Democratic leaders have been taught by lobbyists of the National Woman's Party that a mere record vote which defeats the amendment is worse than no vote at all; that only its passage can satisfy us, and relieve the President and the Administration from the onus of obstructing a measure the West is demanding with growing determination at a time when war problems must be met and the approaching Congressional elections faced.

We wish to see America mobilized in full spiritual and political force, men and women side by side, to carry on the world-wide fight for the establishment of liberty and self-government.—*Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont in The New York American, December 16.*

Too Bad

TOO bad to see a fine phrase turned into a joke. When the United States first heard those stirring words "make the world safe for democracy" every true American held his head higher with pride of country. Then comes along a practical every-day woman and asks what the idea is in making the world safe for democracy abroad while denying it to our own people. And ever since the "make the world safe for democracy" phrase falls flat and rings false.—*Miami Daily Metropolis, December 14.*

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Comments of the Press

The Arguments That Get Even Massachusetts

MEMBERS of the Massachusetts delegation in Congress have had, within the last few days, an opportunity of listening to what might properly be described as an equal suffrage argument in crystallized form. The contributors to it have been many, but seldom, if ever, before has so much been said by supporters of the cause, or so much of an effective and convincing nature, in so short a space of time. United States Senators and Representatives from Massachusetts have not, as a rule, taken the trouble of acquainting themselves very thoroughly with the case for equal suffrage. Some of them have viewed the proposition of putting it into the state or national Constitution with indifference; some of them have been utterly opposed to the idea. . . .

A woman working for the federal amendment asked the gentlemen of the Massachusetts delegation, in the course of her argument the other day, "Why unnecessarily antagonize a large class of people to whom you will later appeal for votes?" In New York, today, men in politics, high and low, are asking themselves why they made the mistake of opposing a class of people who, one of these days, may be able to control elections in that state. Another representative of the suffrage cause reminded the Massachusetts delegation, lest they might overlook the fact, that "the recent New York vote doubled the number of women voters in the United States."

As to the matter of waiting for equal suffrage in the nation until all, or at least a majority, of the states had adopted it, the delegation was informed, very clearly, of the extreme difficulty in states like Indiana, New Mexico, and Arizona, of securing amendments of any kind to the state constitutions, because of the rigorous provisions in those instruments against alterations.

Such arguments, testimonies, or assertions would have less weight than is given them today if the practical public men of several of the states were not now listening with attention to the pleas of women for justice, and if the triumphant Democratic Party in New York had not voted, within a week, to add fifteen women to the Democratic State Committee. Here is official partisan political recognition of women such as the eastern side of the United States has never known before. It is, of course, impossible to say in advance how Congress will vote on the Susan B. Anthony amendment, when it comes up in the near future, but it is not impossible to see that the majority in Congress will hesitate to sacrifice several Congressional districts by repudiating the recent decision of New York State on equal suffrage. Whether or not Congress shall submit the suffrage amendment, women will henceforth vote in New York, and they are not likely to reward the party that disappoints them.—*Christian Science Monitor, Boston, December 14.*

Kyan Walker, in The New York Call

Panama Watches

THE next session of the United States Congress will have an opportunity to make itself immortal in the annals of political freedom and equality and social and moral progress by favorable action on both the woman suffrage and prohibition amendments.—*The Panama News Weekly, November.*

What the West Expects

THE federal suffrage amendment will also loom large. Practically everyone with common sense realizes that federal suffrage is only a matter of time. It is to be hoped that a majority of Congressmen will have the intelligence and foresight to put the amendment through, not only from a standpoint of justice, but expediency as well—*Denver Express, Dec. 3.*

In at the Death

ORGANIZED labor takes a firm attitude in favor of woman suffrage. You can trust the labor leaders to pick a winner.—*Charlotte (N. C.) News, Nov. 23.*

The Right-About-Face Politician

JUST why Miss Paul and twenty-two others whose sentences had not expired were released from jail Nov. 27 does not seem quite clear. On its face it looks as though the government authorities, after having attempted to suppress picketing by drastic measures, have, to use a slang expression, become afflicted with "cold feet" for some reason or other. If picketing was illegal on any basis, and a menace to peace and order in Washington in war time, the authorities were right in arresting the pickets. And if the pickets were justly tried, convicted and sentenced, the punishment alloted should have been carried out. The fact that the punishment was not carried out in the case of Miss Paul and her fellow prisoners is on its face an admission of doubt by the government as to the whole procedure against the pickets.

While *Patriot Phalanx* has not endorsed picketing, neither has it endorsed the bungling course which the government has followed in trying to suppress the pickets. It has looked to us very much like a course that was dictated by politicians who were somewhat uncertain as to just how far they dared to go, and who would right about face whenever the pressure of audible public opinion seemed to demand it.

Unfortunately this type of law maker and law administrator predominates to an alarming degree in our dedocracy.—*The Patriot Phalanx, Dec. 7.*

Autocracy at Home

OUR government is fighting the Prussian warlords, and one thing it does is to shut out of all our newspapers all information that would be valuable to the enemy and dangerous to us.

Since our government is also fighting these fanatical women in Washington, could not the same precaution be used to advantage with them? We have a censor and the machinery for keeping out of the newspapers what it is not expedient to print. Why not shut out all report . . . of their activities in jail and all that concerns them?" —*Life, December 13.*

The Last Laugh

THE National Woman's Party had its laugh yesterday when the police reserves were called out, not to arrest pickets, but to chase away thousands of law-abiding enthusiasts from the Belasco, where they had gathered to see the pickets.—*The Washington, (D. C.) Post, Dec. 10.*

Treasurer's Report

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The Suffragist for Christmas

REMEMBER THE SUFFRAGIST at Christmas time! The federal amendment will be the great topic for women in the new year. Every woman will want to know the latest and fullest news from Washington until the vote on it is taken. You cannot choose a more fitting Christmas gift for a woman this year than THE SUFFRAGIST. Subscribe to THE SUFFRAGIST for every friend you have who does not take it.

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